

*A. S. Galley, Jr.* 1894.  
*Charleston, S. C.*

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
SURVIVOR'S ASSOCIATION,  
OF THE  
STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA;  
AND THE ANNUAL ADDRESS BY  
GENERAL JUBAL A. EARLY.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 10, 1871.

CHARLESTON, S. C.  
WALKER, EVANS & COGSWELL, PRINTERS,  
Nos. 3 Broad and 109 East Bay streets.  
1872.



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CAROLINA HALL, }  
COLUMBIA, November 10th, 1871. }

The Association assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M., and, in the absence of the President, was called to order by General J. B. Kershaw, Vice-President.

The following officers and delegates were present :

MAJOR GENERAL J. B. KERSHAW, Vice-President.

MAJOR GENERAL M. C. BUTLER, Vice-President.

MAJOR T. G. BARKER, Vice-President.

COLONEL A. C. HASKELL, Secretary.

CAPTAIN W. K. BACHMAN, Treasurer.

Executive Board.—GENERAL JAMES CONNER, COLONEL JAMES H. RION, COLONEL W. M. WALLACE.

DELEGATES.

*Charleston*—Captain J. S. Fairly, Captain A. G. Magrath, Jr., Captain James Armstrong, Jr., and Captain W. G. Whilden.

*Chester*—James Johnson, Captain Julius Mills, S. P. Hamilton and Captain W. H. Brawley.

*Chesterfield*—J. A. Wilson.

*Edgefield*—L. F. Youmans, H. W. Addison.

*Fairfield*—Captain S. B. Clowney, DuBose Egleston.

*Greenville*—Captain W. H. Perry.

*Kershaw*—General James Chesnut, General J. D. Kennedy, Captain W. G. Leitner, Dr. A. A. Moore, Captain W. L. De Pass.

*Lexington*—W. W. Rice.

*Marlboro'*—John W. Harrington.

*Newberry*—T. S. Moorman.

*Orangeburg*—Captain T. D. Trezevant, Colonel A. A. Goodwyn, Dr. C. S. Darby.

*Richland*—Captain D. B. DeSaussure, John D. Caldwell, Colonel J. P. Thomas, Colonel Thomas Taylor, Dr. J. T. Darby.

*Sumter*—Colonel J. D. Blanding, Guignard Richardson.

*York*—Colonel Cadwallader Jones.

*Laurens*—Captain H. L. McGowan, Captain Thos. B. Crews, Captain H. Legare Farley.

The President, General Hampton, arrived and took the Chair.

Major T. G. Barker offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

*Resolved*, That alternate delegates be invited to participate in the proceedings of this Convention.

Also, the following, which was adopted :

*Resolved*, That General Johnson Hagood be requested to represent the County of Barnwell in this Convention.

Colonel Thomas offered the following, which was adopted :

*Resolved*, That the reading of the proceedings of the last Convention be dispensed with—they having been printed ; and that the Secretary be instructed to distribute copies among the delegates.

General James Conner, in the absence of Colonel McCrady, Chairman of the Executive Board, read the following report of said committee :

The Executive Board respectfully report, that during the last year they have continued their efforts to collect material for the history of the State of South Carolina during the late war, and have obtained possession of some most valuable original papers relating to the inauguration of the war upon the secession of the State in December, 1860, and some original rolls of the first troops raised by the State. They have also received a number of returns from officers of companies, in response to circular of July 1, 1870, issued by the President, a list of which is annexed as Exhibit A.

At the last meeting, the Board were authorized to publish



by subscription, upon the plan reported by them, the roll of the dead prepared by Professor Rivers, as re-arranged and reported, in two editions; the first edition for corrections and additions, and the second, so corrected and added to in permanent form. Upon the adjournment of that meeting, the Board prepared and issued circulars asking assistance in procuring subscribers to the publication. These circulars, inclosing blank forms for subscription lists, were sent by mail to all the general officers, and many other persons, officers and others, and to all the newspapers in the State; and again in March, a note was addressed to each person to whom a circular was sent, and from whom no reply had been received, asking if the circular had reached him, and urging him to endeavor to obtain subscribers.

The District Association of Charleston employed a canvasser to canvass the city of Charleston for subscribers, and by this means obtained 400 subscriptions in that city. The Board have also received the following lists: Abbeville, from General Samuel McGowan, 50 subscribers; Edgefield, from General M. L. Bonham, 50; Georgetown, from Colonel B. H. Wilson, 44; Kershaw, from Captain Kershaw, —; Barnwell, from Robert Aldrich, 21.

The Board having thus been able to obtain but 565 subscribers, instead of 1,000, made an arrangement with Messrs. Walker, Evans & Cogswell, of Charleston, publishers, by which they hope that the work will be carried out. The arrangement is, that the Board have turned over to Messrs. Walker, Evans & Cogswell the list of subscribers obtained—they (Messrs. Walker, Evans & Cogswell) undertaking to publish the work under the auspices of the Association, provided they can obtain 1,000 subscribers, and from the first profits thereof, if any, to re-imburse this Association for all expenses incurred up to the time of the agreement.

The Board was authorized to purchase, as soon as the Treasurer should be in funds, after having paid the amounts then already ordered, a complete file of official reports issued by the War Department of the Confederate States, and such other histories as they might deem important at once to obtain, and to draw on the Treasurer, when so in funds, therefor to an amount not exceeding \$125.

The Treasurer has not been in funds for the above mentioned purposes, but the Board having an opportunity of securing a complete file of such official reports, purchased the same for the Association, and advanced the cost, viz: \$60.

The Board were authorized to obtain a place of deposit for the records and books of the Association, which should be accessible to all, and to expend upon the same a sum of not more than \$25 for shelves, &c. In pursuance of this instruction, the Board applied to the Charleston Library Society for the use of a part of a room in the library building, which they kindly consented to allow, and the records and papers of the Association have been placed there. The Treasurer has not been able to furnish the Board with the funds they were authorized to expend upon this place of deposit of the records.

To the request of the Association, that all persons having original reports or other papers relating to the operations of the war, would permit the Board to have copies made of the same, the Board have to report that Major-General Samuel Jones, of Virginia, who at one time commanded the department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, has offered for copy a book in which are recorded many letters, and a few reports of military operations during the time he commanded the department, and also copies of telegrams having special reference to the operations along the line of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad in December, 1864, but the Board have, as yet, been unable to avail themselves of the offer, in consequence of the want of means with which to defray the expense of having these papers copied.

In this connection, the Board have to report that General Samuel McGowan has presented the Association with a most valuable book of casualties in his brigade, commencing from the battle of Chancellorsville, the first in which he commanded the brigade, and extending to the end of the war, and that General Johnson Hagood has furnished a complete roll of the general, field and staff and company officers of his brigade, and that the rolls of (Gregg's) first South Carolina volunteers, is now nearly complete, wanting only the roll of Company A and C.

The Board were instructed to select and invite some suitable person to deliver an oration before the Association at this annual meeting. This duty they performed, and have to report that Lieutenant-General Jubal A. Early, P. A. C. S., of Virginia, accepted their invitation to address the Association at this meeting.

It was referred to the Board to consider and report at this meeting on a design for a certificate of membership. They have had this subject under consideration, and recommend the adoption of the design hereto annexed as Exhibit B, a



description of which is appended as Exhibit C. They further recommend that it be referred to a committee of three to consider and report, at the next meeting of this Association, a plan for having the same lithographed and issued to the members, and providing for the expenses thereof.

The Board have not been able to procure a suitable design for a medal to be worn by the members of the District Association, which they were instructed to do by resolution at the last meeting, and, in consideration of other pressing demands upon their attention, respectfully ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

At the last meeting the Board reported as follows: The Board did not feel themselves authorized to employ a librarian until some definite arrangement had been made in regard to the finances of the Association. But they are anxious to have the office filled at once. The correspondence in regard to the rolls now being prepared is large, the custody of the papers a matter of responsibility, and their arrangement a work requiring more time and attention than can be given but by a person regularly employed to attend to it. They think that for the small salary of \$100 they could obtain the services of a competent person to perform these duties, and reported an estimate of expenses to include this item, which was approved by the Association.

The estimate of expenses, as reported by the Board and passed by the Association for the year, was \$600, but, as will appear by the Treasurer's report, he was enabled to collect but \$208 74; leaving a deficiency of amount, then reported, \$391 21. In other words, the Treasurer has only been able to pay the expenses incurred for the year 1869 and 1870, and nothing toward the expenses of the year just ended, 1870-'71. In addition to this, the stationery and printing expenses for the last year was found to be larger than the Board had reported. This increase arising principally from the publication of the proceedings of two meetings during the year.

Under these circumstances the Board refrained from engaging the services of a librarian, and continued to perform the duties contemplated for that office. They submit the following estimate of expenses for the ensuing year:

ESTIMATE OF EXPENSES—EXPENSES ALREADY INCURRED.—Stationery and printing, including proceedings of years 1869 and 1870, as per account, \$242 60; purchase of official reports, \$60. Total, \$302 60.

EXPENSES OF ENSUING YEAR.—Librarian, \$100; hall, portage and contingent expenses, \$100; stationery and printing, including oration, \$200. Total, \$600; grand total, \$902 60.

### EXHIBIT A.

*List of rolls received in response to circular, 1st July, 1870, since last report.*—Co. B, 1st S. C. V., (Gregg's,) Captain D. P. Goggans; Co. E, 1st S. C. V., (Gregg's,) Lieutenant D. A. Smith; Co. G, 1st S. C. V., (Gregg's,) Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. Butler; Co. H, 1st, (Gregg's,) Lieutenant C. J. C. Hutson; Co. A, 2d, Lieutenant S. L. Leaphart; Co. K, 3d, Lieutenant W. B. Peeples; Co. I, 3d, Captain John L. Seabrook; Co. I, 4th, Lieutenant D. E. Gordon; Co. H, 4th, Captain J. E. Foster; Co. B, 5th, Lieutenant G. A. Patrick; Co. G, 5th, Captain F. G. Latham; Co. G., 6th, 1st Sergeant W. H. Williams, 2d Sergeant W. M. Nelson and Private W. F. Jackson; Co. K, 6th, Lieutenant W. S. Brand; Co. G, 7th, Captain J. C. Williams; Co. B, 8th, Captain R. T. Powell; Co. C, 10th, Captain C. Johnson; Co. A, 10th, Captain C. C. White; Co. H, 10th, Captain W. J. M. Lee; Co. K, 10th, Captain J. S. Porcher; Co. I, 10th, Captain B. B. McWhite; Co. B, 11th, Captain Julius J. Wescoat; Co. D, 13th, Captain James Y. McFall; Co. F, 14th, Corporal Pinckney M. Blakely; Co. E, 15th, Captain W. W. Kirkland; Co. G, 18th, Captain J. W. Bedmgudral; Co. G, 19th, Lieutenaut W. V. Clinkscales; Co. C, 20th, Captain Godfrey Lehahart; Co. I, 20th, Lieutenant Mansel Gunter; Co. E, 21st, Lieutenant Fred. Richards; Co. A, 23d, Captain John C. Evans; Co. A, 25th, (W. L. I.) Private J. L. Honour; Co. D, 27th, Captain James T. Wells; Co. E, Orr's Rifles, Captain James T. Reid; Co. K, Orr's Rifles, Captain W. C. Wardlaw; Co. M, Palmetto Sharp Shooters, Captain F. G. Latham; Co. G, 3d S. C. Cavalry, Captain Theo. Cordes; Co. I, 3d S. C. Cavalry, —; Co. K, 4th S. C. Cavalry, Lieutenant L. C. Nowell; Co. K, 6th S. C. Cavalry, Captain M. J. Hough; Co. A, Lucas Battalion, Lieutenant E. B. Calhoun; Co. F, Chesnut Light Artillery, Palmetto Regiment, —; Co. I, 1st S. C. V., (Gregg's old,) Captain J. B. Davis; Earle's Battery, Captain W. E. Earle; Commissioned and non-Commissioned Field and Staff, 18th Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel W. B. Allison; Commissioned and non-Commissioned Field and Staff, 20th Regiment, Adjutant John Alvilson.

## EXHIBIT B.

A drawing of which Exhibit C is the description.

## EXHIBIT C.

The object of the Association being to obtain an appropriate design for a certificate of membership, the space for the certificate in the accompanying design, is in the immediate foreground, the accessories are all emblematic of the "Lost Cause." Immediately above the certificate stands the broken arch, or architectural ruin, demolished by a war of the elements, to be indicated by a storm cloud, past and seen in the distance, against whose darkness the right side of the ruin will stand out in relief; the light striking across the picture; and the harbor of Charleston from the left displaying Morris' Island Point, Sullivan's Island, Wagner, Sumter, Moultrie, &c.; between the columns of the arch stands a palmetto tree, denuded of its foliage, or nearly so, by the fall of the arch, the rattle snake and shields knocked from their position on the trunk of the tree; the snake, however, clinging to the root of the tree, with mouth closed, being (at present) too weak, from the effect of the fall, to show fight. It need hardly be added that the ruin is emblematic of the Confederacy, and the palmetto, shields and snake of the State of South Carolina. On each side of the certificate is a Grecian shield; the one on the right represents the beginning of the war, the borders of the circles are formed of laurel leaves, on the surface of the outer circle the order of a battle is represented, at the bottom, the videttes are being driven in; on the right, a battery of artillery is going into position; on the top, the General commanding is bringing up the infantry from the left, and behind him a railroad train; in the centre, a Confederate soldier is about to part with his wife and child and join his comrades in the battle.

The shield on the left represents the end of the war. The borders of the circles on this shield to be formed of cypress. The sides of the outer circle to represent a floral memorial celebration and a city in ruins—say Columbia burning; in the centre, a widow and orphan having lost all but faith in God, are kneeling at His altar, and immediately over them is Faith, Hope and Charity. The shields are decorated with battle flags, on which are to be inscribed the battles which the troops of the District were engaged in.

The certificate and shields are surrounded with scroll work, decorated with oak leaves, entwined with cypress, in the centre of which is placed the seal of the Association, the design for which is a woman with a scroll on her knee writing history, and on the border the words, "Vindex Noster Sit Historia," "Let History be our Vindicator." In one corner of the scroll work there is a vidette; in the other, two pickets.

Captain DePass offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the time of the annual meeting of the Survivors' Association be changed to —

On motion of Colonel Addison, the resolution was laid on the table.

General J. B. Kershaw introduced the following resolution, which was ordered for consideration to-morrow :

*Resolved*, That a committee to consist of one from each delegation in attendance be appointed, to consider and report upon the expediency of some action of this Association at the present meeting, disavowing any knowledge on our part, of the existence now or at any time heretofore, of any societies or organizations having for their object the unlawful deprivation of any class of citizens of this State, of the free exercise of all the privileges to which they are entitled under the terms of the recent amendments to the Federal Constitution. Also, as to the expediency of an address to the people of this State, urging the disbandment of all organizations, if any such there be, of the nature popularly known as Ku Klux Klans, and generally urging upon our fellow-citizens a faithful observance of existing laws, and a patient endurance of evils which may not be corrected by legislative, political or social reforms. Also, that said committee report at an adjourned meeting, to be held this evening.

Adjourned to meet for Business at Carolina Hall, at 10 A. M. to-morrow.

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The Convention re-assembled at 7 P. M., and proceeded to the Baptist Church, where the annual address was to be delivered by General Jubal A. Early.



## SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

The Association met at 11 A. M., General Kershaw, Vice-President, in the Chair.

On motion of General Conner, the following officers of the Association were re-elected by acclamation :

President, General Wade Hampton ; Vice-Presidents, General R. H. Anderson, General J. B. Kershaw, General S. McGowan, Major T. G. Barker, General M. C. Butler, and General Arthur M. Manigault ; Secretary, Colonel A. C. Haskell ; Treasurer, Captain W. K. Bachman.

The Chair then announced the following gentlemen re-appointed on the Executive Board the ensuing year :

*Executive Board.*—Colonel Edward McCrady, General Ellison Capers, General James Conner, Colonel J. W. McCutchen, Colonel W. H. Wallace, Colonel J. H. Rion, Colonel C. Irvine Walker.

The resolution offered yesterday by General Kershaw then came up for consideration, and was adopted.

Under the resolution the Chair appointed the following committee :

Chairman, General J. B. Kershaw, Kershaw ; Orangeburg, Captain Davis Trezevant ; Charleston, General James Conner ; Chesterfield, Captain J. A. Wilson ; Marlboro', Colonel J. W. Harrington ; Richland, D. B. DeSaussure ; Sumter, Colonel J. D. Blanding ; York, Colonel Cad. Jones ; Newberry, Thomas S. Moorman ; Fairfield, Captain Samuel B. Clowney ; Edgefield, Major Leroy F. Yeomans ; Chester, Captain Wm. H. Brawley ; Greenville, Lieutenant Perry ; Lexington, H. W. Rice ; Barnwell, General Johnson Hagood ; General Wade Hampton, President.

The committee having retired, returned and submitted the following report, which was unanimously adopted :

The committee to whom were referred certain resolutions inquiring into the expediency of certain action in regard to the so-called Ku-Klux Klans, respectfully report, that the subject matter of the resolutions being foreign to the objects of this Association, which are all expressed without qualification or reservation in our printed constitutions, the com-



mittee deem any action of this body on the subject inexpedient and improper. But, inasmuch as it has been charged upon us that we have participated in or countenanced the organizations referred to, the committee recommend the removal of such aspersions by the adoption of the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That at no time has this Association given countenance or encouragement to any organizations or combinations for the purpose of violating the established laws of the land, or the rights of any person thereunder, and hereby earnestly and solemnly declare their disapproval of all such organizations, if any there be, existing in this State.

Respectfully submitted,

J. B. KERSHAW, *Chairman*.

Gen. Kershaw then requested Maj. T. G. Barker, Vice-President, to take the Chair, and addressed the Convention on the subject of education of orphans of deceased soldiers, who, if living, would be entitled to be members of the Association, and introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That a Committee of Five members of this Association be appointed by the Chair, to correspond with and canvass the District Associations, upon the expediency and practicability of establishing a high school, for the education of orphans, sons of that class of persons who, if living, would be entitled to membership of this Association, under the supervision and with the aid and co-operation of the State Association, and to report upon the same at the next meeting, accompanying said report with a plan or plans of putting said school in operation, should the Association so determine.

General Conner presented the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That a Committee of Three be appointed by the President, to communicate with the chairmen of delegations from each District here represented, or leading Confederates in Districts not represented, requesting them to render assistance to the Confederate Home, in Charleston, by sending one pupil (female) from each District to the Home to be educated—the entire expense for maintenance, clothing and education being \$200—and to canvass their Districts for that purpose and communicate with this Committee.

General Kershaw accepted the resolution, to be submitted together with the first presented by himself.

Major Barker in the Chair, communicated as information the suggestion which had been made, that the funds being raised by the Ladies' Monumental Association, might be applied to the purpose of a school for the sons of Confederate soldiers who had fallen in the war.

Both resolutions were adopted by unanimous vote, and the following Committee was appointed: General Kershaw, Chairman; General Conner, Colonel Haskell, Colonel E. McCrady, General E. P. Alexander.

On motion of General Kershaw, Major T. G. Barker was added to the Committee.

The following Committee was appointed, under the resolution of General Conner, for the education of daughters: Captain Fairley, Captain G. H. Moffett, Colonel B. Rutledge.

The following resolution was offered by Captain W. L. DePass, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Survivors' Association have heard with pleasure the suggestion that the moneys that are being raised for the purpose of erecting a suitable monument to the Confederate dead, should be applied to the more elevated and enduring purpose of educating the orphans of the gallant men who gave their lives for the "Lost Cause."

The following resolution by Captain Bachman, was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Survivors' Association of the State of South Carolina, respectfully tender their grateful thanks to General Jubal A. Early, for his able, instructive and valuable address, delivered yesterday, and request that he will furnish a copy for publication by the Association, as a contribution to the history and literature of the cause which we have so much at heart, well worthy of preservation in a prominent form.

Unanimously adopted.

On motion, the Association adjourned.

## ADDRESS

OF

# General JUBAL A. EARLY.

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MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA—MY FRIENDS AND COMRADES: When I accepted the invitation, so flatteringly tendered me by your Executive Board, I was not unmindful of the fearful risk I incurred, nor of the grave responsibility I assumed. Had I consulted the dictates of prudence, I would have declined to appear, in the capacity of a public speaker, before a community which, in by-gone days, was accustomed to hang, with rapt attention, upon the words of prophetic wisdom and burning eloquence which fell from the lips of Calhoun, Hayne, McDuffie, the two Prestons, and other gifted sons of South Carolina; and, especially, would I have avoided following so soon in the track of my friend and predecessor, General John S. Preston, by whose finished and eloquent oration your hearts were thrilled and your souls stirred to their inmost depths at your last annual meeting. I have, however, ventured to rely on the kind indulgence of my late comrades in arms, trusting that they would overlook the absence of the embellishments and graces of oratory, on account of the faith that is in me. I must, therefore, caution you that you are not to expect from me a brilliant or captivating address, but must be contented with the frank, outspoken sentiments and unvarnished language of a fellow-soldier.

I will not, gentlemen, before you, undertake to enter into a vindication of the rightfulness of the cause for which we fought; for that, I take it for granted, is unnecessary on this occasion, and the task has been performed by far abler tongues and pens than mine. As, however, the action of our respective States was somewhat divergent at the outset of our troubles, it may not be inappropriate for me to say a few words to you on that subject.

You must remember that, before the war of the Revolution of 1776, Virginia, without having any special grievances of

her own to complain of at the hands of the British Government, made common cause with her sister colonies in the conflict with the mother country, then impending ; and when that conflict was precipitated, if it was not mainly caused, by the unwarranted turbulence of the people of Massachusetts, and especially of Boston, she rushed to the assistance of Massachusetts, with men, money and supplies. She threw all her resources into the struggle, and the war, begun on the soil of Massachusetts, was, substantially, terminated on that of Virginia. As she came out of the Revolution, Virginia was comparatively strong, and was possessed of a territory, in her own right, sufficient for a mighty empire. She was then perfectly capable of taking care of herself. She had declared her own independence, and established her separate sovereign State government, in advance of the action of the Colonial Congress. But, one of her sons, Jefferson, was the author of the celebrated declaration by the Congress ; and another, Washington, had led the armies of the confederation to victory. She was, therefore, very naturally inclined to foster and perpetuate the confederation, with the glories and triumphs of which she had been so much identified. For the sake of harmony, and to strengthen the bonds of union between the States, she surrendered, without price, the vast territory beyond the Ohio, now the seat of five States, which was, indisputably, hers by right. When it was found that the old confederation was liable to disintegration, from internal causes, she proposed the convention whose deliberations resulted in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution was in a great measure the work of her own statesmen. It is true, that, when it came before her convention, its ratification was obstinately resisted, and the dangers of an abuse of its delegated powers were foreseen and foretold by some of her wisest and most patriotic sons, foremost among whom were Patrick Henry and George Mason. It may not be out of place to remark here, that the elder Lowndes stood almost alone in the South Carolina Convention in opposition to the Constitution, for the very same reasons that governed Henry, Mason and their coadjutors. The struggle was long and arduous in the Virginia Convention, but the Constitution was finally ratified by a majority, though a small one. Her great son, Washington, was unanimously elected the first President, and under his auspices the United States took position among the most respected nations of the world. In his farewell address, on retiring to private



life, Washington commended the union of the States to the care of his countrymen, urging them to cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming themselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of their political safety and prosperity. Ah! little did he think, and little did the mass of his countrymen then dream, that that "*palladium*" was but another wooden horse, bearing within itself the agencies for the destruction of the only safeguards of the liberties of the people, the sovereign rights of the States. Three other most eminent sons of Virginia afterwards, in succession, filled the office of President; and the principles for which she ever contended, for many years, with but a brief interval, prevailed in the construction of the Constitution and the administration of the Government.

Is it to be wondered, therefore, that, following the advice of her great and patriotic son, she did cherish a cordial and habitual attachment to the Union of the States, and that she was slow to recognize the necessity for the dissolution of that Union, of which she regarded herself the chief architect, and for which she had made such great sacrifices? Such *was* the case, gentlemen, and, strong in her faith in State sovereignty and the ultimate sense of justice, on the part of the people, it was hard for Virginia to realize the fact that the masses in any portion of the country—of what we were accustomed to call our common country—could be led into a deliberate attempt to subvert the principles of the Constitution, and destroy the rights of the States and the liberties of the people, though a mischievous faction, amid high political excitement and under strong party rule, had obtained possession of the Government. Under the influence of such considerations as I have indicated, Virginia did struggle long and earnestly to preserve the Union; but the Union for which she struggled was one of equal rights, equal privileges and common duties, in which the States were to be held together by mutual obligations, and a cordial regard for and strict observance of the rights of all. In her efforts in that direction, Virginia met with no corresponding sympathy from the masses at the North, or the powers at Washington. When, at last, she did realize the fact that the Union she had so fondly cherished was to be replaced by one of force and coercion, she shivered the idol of her affections, and took her stand by the side of her Southern sisters, with the determination to do battle to the last extremity, for the principles she had always upheld, and which she now perceived were involved in the



success of the Confederation of seceded States. How she bore herself in the struggle which ensued, it is not necessary for me to tell you—nor is it necessary to state how Massachusetts repaid her obligations to Virginia—nor how Virginia has been compensated for her magnificent bounty to the Union—nor how the States which were her own daughters turned upon her in the hour of her trials. Can you say, gentlemen, that the reluctance of Virginia to surrender the Union was an unnatural, an unreasonable one? We can all now see how our ancestors erred in not heeding the warnings of Henry and Mason, and Lowndes, and how *we* erred in not beginning the struggle to regain our independence long years before we did; but it required sad experience to make this apparent to all of us—some saw it sooner, others later. None but a Virginian can fully understand the anguish with which the people of that State recognized the fact that the Union of their affections was gone forever. I must say that I fully sympathized with the people of my State in their anxiety to preserve the Union, and in the anguish with which they came to the conclusion that it must be surrendered. When I did come to that conclusion, I went into the struggle with my whole heart and soul; not merely because I felt it to be my duty to follow my State and my section, but because, also, I felt that the cause for which we were called on to fight was my cause as well as theirs, and because I believed it to be right, just and holy—and I then believed it had been so from the beginning. In that faith I have remained up to the present time, in that faith I will live, and in that faith I will die, though might did prevail over right in the struggle. Never, during the progress of the war, did I upbraid any advocate of secession for bringing on that war; and now that our cause has failed of success, I would feel that I was unworthy to be called a man, could I be induced to cast the responsibility of the war on the original advocates of secession. During its progress, the only reproach I had for any secessionist, was when I found one who was not willing to fight for the cause he had advocated; and, I am sorry to say, there were some of that character. Now, when I see one who has turned renegade, and affiliated with the enemies of his people, I turn from him as I would from a loathsome reptile.

Gentlemen of South Carolina, you do not require, at the hands of any one, a vindication of the course of your State, in inaugurating steps for the assertion of your right to self-government. Our enemies and oppressors have furnished the

most full and complete vindication of all you did, not only by the manner in which they conducted the war, but by their course since its close—if it be indeed closed. Let any one look abroad over this fair and once happy land, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and view the desolation and manifold wrongs which have been heaped upon our people, and ask his own heart whether South Carolina was wrong in manifesting her unwillingness to submit to the rule of the malignant, fanatic race, worse than barbaric Goth, or Vandal, or Hun, that has proved itself capable of such enormities.

Yes, my friends, our enemies are every day writing their own condemnation, in characters which cannot be mistaken and which can never be effaced. Millions abroad, and even some at the North, are learning, too late, to believe and know that the right was with us.

This much, I, a former Union man—then sometimes called a submissionist—have thought proper to say to you on that head, here, at what is regarded as the fountain-head of secession, in order that we may understand each other, and that you may know that, though we traveled by routes somewhat divergent, we arrived at the same goal at last. I do not, however, wish to be understood as offering an apology for the course of my native State. Her action was dictated by the purest and most patriotic motives—was in accordance with her traditional policy, and was, in my opinion, such as became her ancient fame and high career, though it did not succeed.

In the war of invasion and conquest—with grim irony called the war for the preservation of the Union—which was most iniquitously waged against us, the soldiers of South Carolina, along with those of all the Confederate States, bore themselves as became the free-born sons of a free-born race, and the cause to which they had devoted their lives. It was my fortune to meet “in the tented field,” and amid the din of battle, many of the soldiers of your State. Some I meet here again, and take by the hand with a mournful pleasure; those who fought on other fields, I likewise regard as my comrades and brethren in arms, to whom I feel bound by the kindred ties of common principles, a common struggle, and common sufferings, though we never met before. But ah! how many of both classes are absent—“dead upon the field of honor!” Comrades, in common with many others, I am very often inclined to think that those who lost their lives in battle, fighting for our great cause, were far more fortunate than the survivors, who have lived to see the destruction of all the fair

hopes which cheered their comrades in the moments of a glorious death. The reflection has often come to my mind, after a battle, when we were receiving tidings of those who had fallen, and some familiar name was mentioned among the slain—"he, at least, has been spared the humiliation of seeing his country enslaved, if that terrible calamity is to befall us!"

You, my friends, have done well in forming this Association, and I trust to see your example followed throughout all the late Confederate States. We owe it to our cause, to our fallen comrades, and to ourselves, to keep in vivid recollection the principles for which we fought; to renew and strengthen the friendships and associations engendered by the war; to relieve, as far as we can, the wants of the families of the fallen who were left destitute, and to see that the materials for a truthful history of our struggle are furnished and preserved. At the time of the meeting at Richmond, last Fall, for erecting a monument to General Lee, there was a large concourse of officers and soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia, from Virginia and elsewhere, and an "Association of the Army of Northern Virginia" was formed. This Association is intended to embrace all those who served honorably in that army at any time, whether before or after it bore that distinctive appellation, and who have not, by their conduct since the war, forfeited all claim to an honorable association with their former comrades. The plan is, to have divisions in all the States from which any part of that army came, which will include all the Confederate States and Maryland. A Vice-President and two assistants were appointed for each State, and I trust that you will co-operate in this movement. I hope, also, to see associations formed of all the other armies, and that there may be a general association of the whole, to include the survivors of our gallant little navy. This will be the means of bringing together, in one grand Confederate Association, all those who fought and suffered for the same cause, whether by sea or by land. The ends to be accomplished by these associations will be two-fold: First, to bring into harmonious intercourse the defenders of our cause from all parts of the country; and, second, to secure the materials for a history of the whole struggle, without the risk of its being disfigured by jealous bickerings or discordant views.

It is necessary, my friends, that we should take charge of the history of the war on our side—we who have a greater interest in it than all others living. On the one side, our enemies are laboring to falsify and pervert that history, with

the view of casting odium on our people and damning our cause in the estimation of the world and posterity. On the other side, some mere literary tyros and adventurers, who not only

"Never set a squadron in the field,  
Nor the divisions of a battle know,"

but never heard the whistling of a bullet or the explosion of a shell, unless when safely ensconced in some bombproof or behind an exemption, have taken possession of the theme, as a popular one, for the purpose of making money out of the operation; and the consequence has been that there are "Southern Histories of the War" and "Lives of General Lee," in abundance—each one of which is the "only authentic one," and has the "sanction of all the leading Confederate Generals"—that is, in the title pages—I have seen one which has tried two, if not three, title pages. From this latter class of historians and biographers we are in more danger than from our enemies. In their anxiety to blacken the character of our soldiers and people and magnify that of theirs, our enemies very often over-reach themselves, and tell such monstrously absurd and improbable stories, that no one of common discernment will believe them; whereas, in the absence of the genuine coin, the spurious issue of the pseudo historians and biographers of the South passes current, especially among foreigners; and even some of our own people are taken in by it. We must weed out all this trash, and it can be done only by concert and united action.

Many of the efforts of our enemies to falsify the truth of history, as they appear in their official reports, their histories, and the very voluminous reports of the Committee on the conduct of the war, with the accompanying testimony, are very amusing; and in their attempts to avoid the disgrace of the numerous defeats of their armies, Federal commanders have, unwittingly, paid the very highest possible compliments to the valor of our men. There was scarce a battle in Virginia, or the West, or the South-west, in which, according to their showing, they did not have to encounter overwhelming numbers. When the future student of history comes to examine the documents which our enemies have prepared for the purpose of misleading him, and sees that nearly everywhere the Confederate Government, with a population of only 5,000,000 of whites to draw from, could almost always put into the field overwhelming numbers, against the Government at Washington, which



had a population of about 22,000,000 to draw from, he must come to the conclusion that the Southern people were nearly all men, and the Northerners nearly all women, or that their men were of a very inferior order of non-combatants; and he will doubtless arrive at the further conclusion—which, for other reasons, would not be an unwarranted one—that had it not been for the Germans, Irish, Canadians and negroes which the North enlisted in its armies, it would have fared but badly in the contest.

To illustrate the characteristic distinctions between the Confederate and Northern officers and soldiers, as well as to show how Northern commanders attempted to account for their reverses, I will call your attention to some of the operations of the Army of Northern Virginia, in connection with the statements of our opponents; and I trust I will not weary you by so doing. I confine myself to that army, because I was familiar with its operations, and not with those of the other armies. During the fall of 1861 and winter of 1861–2, General Johnston's army, on the line of Bull Run, was always under 50,000, and during a part of the time under 40,000. At the close of February, 1862, his whole command, including the troops in the Valley, at Leesburg, and on the Potomac below, amounted to 47,617 for duty. McClellan, in his report, dated the 4th of August, 1863, gives General Johnston's force as follows:

"Manassas, Centreville, Bull Run, Upper Occoquan and vicinity, 80,000; at Brooks' Station, Dumfries, Lower Occoquan and vicinity, 18,000; at Leesburg and vicinity, 4,500; in the Shenandoah Valley, 13,000—total 115,000; about 300 field pieces and from 26 to 30 siege guns."

He gives his own strength as follows:

"15th October, 1861, 133,201 for duty; \* \* \* \* \*  
1st February, 1862, 190,806; 1st March, 1862, 193,142."

These figures included some troops in Maryland and Delaware, but the great bulk was on the Potomac, and all the remainder in easy call. General Johnston evacuated Manassas on the 8th of March. McClellan, in two or three days, marched up and captured some Quaker guns and the empty breastworks; and then moved by water to the Peninsula, where the bulk of his army, after leaving 40,000 or 50,000 men for the defence of Washington, landed in the first part of April. Magruder then had about 7,000 men, with whom he fell back to Yorktown and the line of Warwick River. McClellan moved up to the front of this position, and com-



menced a siege by gradual approaches, on a line from twelve to fifteen miles in length, held by Magruder's small force.

That force was soon increased to 12,000, by some re-inforcements from the South side of James River. On the 7th of April, McClellan states that he had 85,000 effective men, and in a letter of that date, contained in his report, he says : " All the prisoners state that General J. E. Johnston arrived at Yorktown, yesterday, with strong re-inforcements. It seems clear that I shall have the whole force of the enemy on my hands—probably not less than 100,000 men, probably more."

All the force then confronting him on that long line consisted of Magruder's 12,000 men. My division, the first from Johnston's army, arrived on the 8th and 9th, and was 8,000 strong. Some two weeks afterward, two other divisions of Johnston's army arrived, as also the troops which had been at Leesburg, and Fredricksburg. The whole force, including Magruder's, did not then reach 50,000. You must know that there were constant skirmishing and artillery firing between the two forces, from the beginning, and that before the arrival of the main body of Johnston's army McClellan made one or two assaults on parts of the line—yet that little force stood there, defiantly, in front of his large army, which had very soon increased to over 100,000. General Johnston evacuated this line, the battles of Williamsburg and Seven Pines occurred, and he was wounded at the latter. General Lee was then assigned to the command of the army, which was given the name of the "Army of Northern Virginia," afterwards rendered so famous.

McClellan's army, according to his report, amounted, on the 20th of June, 1862, to 105,825 officers and men for duty, and he had a very large train of siege and field guns. When General Lee took command of the army, he found the Confederate capital beleaguered, and the enemy's large army in sight of the spires of the city. His whole force was very little over half that of McClellan; yet he determined to raise the siege by one of those bold strategic movements, which have rendered him so renowned. When all his plans were matured, he sent an order to Jackson to move rapidly from the Valley; and on the 26th of June, began that series of battles, which so much expedited McClellan's celebrated "change of base," and sent his shattered columns cowering to the shelter of the gun-boats on the lower James. General Lee's whole force at that time, including Jackson's, Magruder's, Huger's and

Holmes'—in fact, the whole force in and around Richmond, did not exceed 80,000 effective men, if it reached that figure; and this was the largest army he ever commanded. McClellan's force, on the 20th of June, was 105,825 for duty, by his own statement; yet in his letters, before the battle, he states that he was largely outnumbered, and in one letter he puts our force at 200,000 men. Here is what he says in his report of the 4th of August, 1863:

"The report of the 'secret service corps,' herewith forwarded, and dated the 26th of June, [1862,] shows the estimated strength of the enemy, at the time of the evacuation of Yorktown, to have been from 100,000 to 120,000. The same report puts his numbers, on the 26th of June, [1862,] at about 180,000, and the specific information obtained regarding their organization warrants the belief that this estimate did not exceed his actual strength."

We have all heard a good deal about spies in Richmond during the war. I am inclined to think that there were some people very much humbugged by that secret service corps; and McClellan's statement is a complete vindication of all who were in the departments at that time.

After McClellan had established himself on his new "base," he began to be again haunted with the idea of vastly superior numbers opposed to him, and he begged earnestly for re-inforcements. Halleck, the Commander-in-Chief at Washington, made a visit to him about this time, and after his return, in a letter to him, dated the 6th of August, 1862, given in McClellan's report, Halleck says:

"You and your officers, at our interview, estimated the enemy's forces in and around Richmond at 200,000 men. Since then you and others report that they have received and are receiving large re-inforcements from the South. General Pope's army, covering Washington, is only about 40,000. Your effective force is only about 90,000."

At that time a new commander had appeared in Virginia, north of the Rapidan, in the person of Major-General John Pope, noted for his veracious proclivities, and his utter contempt for "rebel" soldiers, of whom he had never seen anything but their backs. With "headquarters in the saddle," and an entire disregard for advantage of position and lines of retreat, which latter he left to take care of themselves, he only wanted to find out where the "rebels" were, so that he might go at them incontinently, and he came "conquering and to conquer." With three divisions, Jackson quietly

moved up to Gordonsville. The first effect of Pope's appearance was terrific. To say nothing of the onslaught on the pigs, poultry and dairies of the country, there was great consternation and dismay at Richmond, according to the following despatch, sent by Halleck to McClellan, on 31st July. Halleck says:

"General Pope again telegraphs that the enemy is reported to be evacuating Richmond, and falling back on Danville and Lynchburg."

This was while McClellan was trembling at Harrison's Landing at the dread phantom of 200,000 men at Richmond, with more arriving from Beauregard and Bragg, which haunted his imagination. Jackson soon began to show Pope some things he had never looked upon before. The battle of Cedar Run, or Slaughter's Mountain, occurred on the 9th of August, and Pope began to see some remarkable sights. The evacuation of the "new base" at Harrison's Landing, which McClellan had assumed with so much ability, was hastened.

In a despatch from McClellan to Halleck, dated the 14th of August, there occurs this notable passage:

"I don't like Jackson's movements; he will suddenly appear when least expected."

It was a way General Jackson had, of disturbing people with his eccentricities.

General Lee now turned his attention to the doughty commander, whose headquarters were in the saddle, and to whose aid McClellan was hastening his army. Stuart commenced his pranks around Pope's headquarters; and while the latter, on the line of the Rappahannock, was steadily looking to the front for the "rebels," in utter oblivion of any possible line of retreat, Jackson suddenly appeared in his rear on that line, thus calling his attention to it; and then ensued that succession of engagements known as "Second Manassas."

Any of the survivors of Gregg's brigade, who may be here, may, perhaps, be interested and entertained by the following extracts from Pope's report. He says:

"Sigel attacked the enemy about daylight on the morning on the 29th, a mile or two east of Groveton, where he was soon joined by the divisions of Hooker and Kearney. Jackson fell back several miles, but was so closely pressed by these forces that he was compelled to make a stand, and to make the best defence possible."

And after mentioning an order to Porter to cut off Jackson's retreat, he says:



"About half-past 5 o'clock, [P. M. same day,] when General Porter should have been coming into action, in compliance with this order, I directed Generals Heintzelman and Reno to attack the enemy. The attack was made with great gallantry, and the whole of the left of the enemy was doubled back towards his centre, and our own forces, after a sharp conflict of an hour and a half, occupied the field of battle, with the dead of the enemy in our hands. In this attack, Grover's brigade of Hooker's division was particularly distinguished by a determined bayonet charge, breaking two of the enemy's lines, and penetrating to the third before it could be checked."

General Jackson, after breaking the railroad, and destroying the immense stores at Manassas, which could not be removed, had moved to the old battle-field of Manassas, to await the arrival of General Lee with Longstreet's force. Early on the morning of the 29th of August, he had taken position on the old unused railroad grade near that field, and there, with his three divisions, of less than 20,000 men, he had received and repulsed Pope's successive attacks. The last attack was made on a part of the line held by Gregg's and Thomas' Brigades. These two Brigades, after a gallant resistance, and when their ammunition was exhausted, retired a very short distance to the rear, and were awaiting the advance of the enemy, determined to resist with the bayonet. My Brigade then advanced past them, drove the enemy back and regained the position on the railroad cut which the enemy had occupied. This was the last attack on Jackson's line that day, and is, I presume, the one so glowingly described by Pope. At the close of the day we held our whole line intact, with all our dead and wounded in our hands—as they had remained all the time. Those brilliant and determined bayonet charges, so often mentioned by Federal commanders, were like the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out. No one ever saw or felt the bayonets, unless some poor wounded soldier lying helpless on the field. All the fighting on our side, on the 29th, was done by Jackson's command, except an affair about dusk, between King's Division, of McDowell's corps, and the advance of Longstreet's command, which began to arrive between 11 A. M. and 12 M. in the day, but did not engage in the battle until King made his advance, under the idea that Jackson was retreating; which was a very great delusion.

In a despatch dated 5.30 A. M., the 30th, Pope says: "We have lost not less than 8,000 men killed and wounded; but,

from the appearance of the field, the enemy lost at least two to one. He stood strictly on the defensive, and every assault was made by ourselves. The battle was fought on the identical battle-field of Bull Run, which greatly increased the enthusiasm of the men. The news just reaches me from the front that the enemy is retiring toward the mountains. I go forward at once to see. We have made great captures, but I am not able as yet to form an idea of their extent."

During the morning and forenoon, attacks were again made on Jackson's line, but Longstreet did not come into action until the afternoon; when, by the combined attack, Pope's army was driven from the field and across Bull Run, with terrible slaughter.

Pope says, in his report:

"Every indication, during the night of the 29th, and up to 10 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, pointed to the retreat of the enemy from our front."

Further on, in the same report, he says:

"During the whole night of the 29th, and the morning of the 30th, the advance of the main army, under Lee, was arriving on the field to reinforce Jackson, so that by 12 or 1 o'clock in the day we were confronted by forces greatly superior to our own; and these forces were being every moment largely increased by fresh arrivals of the enemy in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap."

General Lee's whole army, at second Manassas, did not amount to 50,000 men. It was composed of part of the army which had been at Richmond during the seven days, and at least two Divisions, D. H. Hill's and McLaw's had not arrived—they had been left behind to protect Richmond until the whole of McClellan's army got off. Pope's army had been largely reinforced from McClellan's, nearly the whole of which had landed at Aquia Creek and Alexandria, and by a part of the troops of Burnside's corps, lately from North Carolina, under Reno, 8,000 strong.

At 9.45 P. M., on the 30th, Pope telegraphed to Halleck:

"The battle was most furious for hours without cessation, and the losses on both sides were heavy. The enemy is badly whipped, and we shall do well enough. Do not be uneasy. We shall hold our own here."

To this Halleck replied:

"You have done nobly. Don't yield another inch, if you can avoid it. All reserves are being sent forward."

Yet, after all of McClellan's troops but one division had



arrived to his aid, and before another gun had been fired, Pope telegraphed to Halleck, from Centreville, at 10.45 A. M., 31st:

"I should like to know whether you feel secure about Washington, should this army be destroyed. I shall fight it as long as a man will stand up to the work."

Pope's whole army was soon hurled into the fortifications around Washington, by the army which had been so badly whipped on the 30th, and Major-General John Pope disappeared from the scene of action, in some respects a wiser if not a better man. He was sent off to the far West to fight the red men of the plains, and we heard no more of him during the war. Pope's original force of 40,000, Reno's 8,000, and McClellan's 90,000, made 138,000 men, whom General Lee's army of less than 50,000 had to deal with on this occasion. All of McClellan's force was not up at the battle of 30th, but all of it except one division was up by the battle of the 1st of September, at Ox Hill or Chantilly. Yet this was another case of superior numbers on our side.

The crossing of the Potomac now followed, and then the capture of Harper's Ferry and the battles of South Mountain and Sharpsburg.

When the battle began at Sharpsburg, early on the morning of the 17th of September, General Lee's whole infantry force on the field did not exceed 15,000. A. P. Hill's division of Jackson's corps, Anderson's division, with one or two extra brigades temporarily attached to it, and McLaw's division, all of which had participated in the attack on Harper's Ferry, had not come up. With all that came up during the day, our infantry force did not exceed 23,000 men. Our cavalry was not engaged, and a large portion of our artillery had not crossed the river from Harper's Ferry; and did not cross until at night when the battle was over. Our whole force, of all arms, when the whole was up, did not exceed 30,000.

McClellan's army, according to his statement, numbered 87,164 in action. Yet we fought him from day-break until late in the afternoon, and, at the close of the day, we held our position. We continued to hold it the whole of the next day, and McClellan did not dare to attack us.

In his report, he gives this remarkable estimate of General Lee's army. I read his language:

"An estimate of the forces under the Confederate General Lee, made up by direction of General Banks, from information obtained by the examination of prisoners, deserters, spies,

etc., previous to the battle of Antietam, is as follows: Gen. T. J. Jackson's corps, 24,778; Gen. James Longstreet's corps, 23,342; Gen. D. H. Hill's second division, 15,525; Gen J. E. B. Stewarts cavalry, 6,400; Gen. Ransom's and Jenkins' brigades, 3,000; forty-six regiments not included in above, 18,400; artillery estimated at 400 guns, 6,000; total, 97,445. These estimates give the actual number of men present and fit for duty."

You must recollect that McClellan was considered the gentleman among the Federal or Union commanders—and this is his statement of the force opposed to him at Sharpsburg. There was a rumor that Banks was Jackson's commissary, and I suppose McClellan thought the commissary ought to know the strength of the corps at least. Banks, however, was not with McClellan at Sharpsburg, and this estimate of his, I presume, was made while Jackson was operating in Pope's rear, and Banks was one of the corps commanders of the latter. Some allowance, therefore, must be made for him, as he always saw with very large magnifying glasses when "Stonewall Jackson" was about.

There are some curious reflections that suggest themselves in connection with McClellan's statement of his own forces. It must be remembered that the troops under McClellan's command on the Potomac and in Maryland and Delaware on the 1st of March, 1862, numbered over 193,000 for duty; The Ninth Corps, (Burnside's,) numbering over 13,000 at Sharpsburg, had been brought from North and South Carolina; Fremont's command from North-western Virginia, and some troops under Sigel from Missouri, had also arrived since the first March; and very recently some troops had come from Western Virginia, under Cox, besides the recruits from new levies that had been received. What had reduced that immense force to 87,164 men, on the 17th September, 1862? How was it that the weak "rebel" government at Richmond had been able to invade the enemy's country with an army of over 97,000 men, while the strong, "patriotic" government at Washington had been able to rally, from all the "loyal" North and North-west, to preserve "the best government the world ever saw," to defend the national capital, and to protect the "loyal" States against the "rebel" hordes by which they were threatened, only a little over 87,000 men? This is a little curious, is it not?

You may think it a little strange that Gen. Lee had less than 30,000 men at Sharpsburg. The whole force for duty

in the Department of Northern Virginia, at the close of July, 1862, was 69,559, as shown by the official reports now on file in the Archive Office at Washington. I copy from a statement from the reports given by a Northern writer—all Confederates being denied access to them. Some troops had to be left at Richmond, at Drewry's and Chaffin's Bluffs, and at other points—and our army had not been reinforced to any material extent. 60,000 men, inclusive of D. H. Hill's and McLaw's divisions, were the utmost that could be carried into the field. There had been the battle of Cedar Run, the fighting on the Rapidan, the series of battles at Second Manassas, Ox Hill, Harper's Ferry and South Mountain—all without any reinforcements. Of course considerable losses had been sustained in all these battles; but, in addition to that, there was a heavy falling off from straggling caused by utter exhaustion.

Our army had been marching and fighting almost continually since the battle of Cedar Run. The men were badly clothed and worse shod—our rations had given out at second Manassas—in fact some of the troops in Longstreet's corps came to that battle without rations. From that time until we got into Maryland, our men had to live principally on fresh beef and green corn, without salt or bread. That diet is better than none, by a good deal, but it is a very weakening one to march and fight on—as some of you, perhaps, know. The consequence of all this was, that before we crossed the Potomac, many of our men had entirely broken down from exhaustion and sore feet, while many had straggled off for food. The loss from these causes was very heavy, and you can understand how less than 60,000 men could very easily be reduced to less than 30,000, in a campaign of six weeks, in which many bloody battles had been fought against very large odds. To show that I am not out of the way in my estimate, I will state that the same reports from which I have quoted, show only 52,609 men for duty in the whole department of Northern Virginia at the close of September, after the stragglers had all come up and many convalescents had returned to duty. You must recollect that the troops under McClellan and Pope numbered on the 6th of August, 1862, according to Halleck's statement, 130,000 for duty; that Burnside had brought over 13,000; that Cox's division had come from Western Virginia since that time, and, besides, there were the recruits and reinforcements received at Washington. If all that force had been reduced to 87,164, when it was so well clothed, shod and fed, it was not unreasonable.



ble that there should be a falling off of 30,000 in General Lee's army, from the casualties of battle and the other causes mentioned. General Lee, in his report, said his strength was under 40,000, but, for obvious reasons, he never disclosed his weakness at any time. Notwithstanding its smallness, our little army accomplished wonders at Sharpsburg. McClellan, in giving the reasons why he was not able to renew the battle on the 18th, in his report says:

"One division of Sumner's corps, and all of Hooker's corps, on the right, had, after fighting most valiantly for several hours, been overpowered by numbers, driven in great disorder and much scattered, so that they were, for the time, somewhat demoralized."

To show how they were overpowered by numbers, let me tell you that, in the morning, Hooker's corps, of 14,856 strong, had attacked the position held by Jackson's command on the field, then 4,000 strong, and D. H. Hill's division of 3,000—in all 7,000 men. Mansfield's corps, then 10,126 strong, came to the assistance of Hooker; and then Hood's two brigades, of less than 1,500, and, later, my brigade, of less than 1,000, were brought into action. Sumner's corps, 18,813 strong, and Franklin's corps, 12,300 strong, were, about the same time, brought to the assistance of Hooker's and Mansfield's corps; and McLaw's and Anderson's divisions, which had arrived from Harper's Ferry, together with two brigades under J. G. Walker, went to the aid of our troops engaged with those four corps. Thus less than 18,000 Confederates, with all that were brought up, from first to last, encountered, on that part of the field 56,095 of the enemy. I give this statement as to the enemy's force engaged on that part of the field from McClellan's report, and as to those engaged on our side from my personal knowledge and the official reports of division commanders, which confirm my recollection and estimate.

But I have not given you all McClellan said on the subject of superior numbers. On the 27th of September, he wrote to Halleck as follows:

"In the last battles, the enemy was undoubtedly greatly superior to us in numbers, and it was only by hard fighting that we gained the advantage we did. As it was, the result was at one period very doubtful, and we had all we could do to win the day."

Win the day, indeed! He had not dared to renew the the attack on the 18th, and he did not venture to claim a



victory till on the 19th, when he found General Lee had recrossed the Potomac, and then he began to breathe freely and crow lustily. Verily, my friends, our boys in rusty gray had a wonderful faculty of magnifying and multiplying themselves in battle; and language could not convey a higher compliment to their prowess than that bestowed by McClellan in the extracts I have given you.

Sharpsburg was no defeat to our arms. All of McClellan's efforts to drive us from the position had been baffled, with immense slaughter of his troops—over 12,000 killed and wounded, according to his report. We awaited his attack all the next day, but he was afraid to renew it. In the meantime, reinforcements were marching to his assistance, while there was no possibility of reinforcements for General Lee; and the latter had the Potomac immediately in his rear. He, therefore, very properly recrossed that river, and McClellan did not follow him to renew the battle.

Some persons are disposed to consider this campaign into Maryland a failure; but that was not the case, in a military aspect. We did not raise Maryland as we hoped, but that was not because of any reverse to our arms. The spirit of resistance had, in a great measure, died out in that State. The love of ease, money, and the comforts of life, had become stronger than the love of liberty. Many wished us success, provided it did not cost them any great sacrifice; but there were very few who were disposed to join us, even when we first crossed the Potomac. Maryland, however, furnished many most gallant soldiers, who came South at the beginning of the war.

In a military point of view, this campaign *was* a great success, though it did not accomplish all we desired. When General Lee took command of the army, the enemy had invested the Confederate capital, and was in sight of its spires; the beleaguered city had been relieved, the enemy investing it driven out of the State, and the Confederate commander, at the close of the campaign, stood proudly defiant on the extreme northern border of the Confederacy, while his opponent had his "base" removed to the northern bank of the Potomac, at a point more than one hundred and seventy-five miles from the Confederate capital, as the bird flies, and his army had been so crippled that he was not able to resume offensive operations for near two months. When his army did move, General Lee was in a position to interpose and inflict at Fredericksburg another signal defeat on the invading force.

I might multiply the instances of the attempts of our enemies to falsify the truth of history, in order to excuse their manifold failures, and to conceal the inferiority of their troops in all the elements of manhood, but I would become too tedious.

The world cannot be made to believe that a population of 5,000,000 could produce more soldiers than one of 22,000,000, especially when the latter had all the world besides to recruit from. This is too much like the old story of the Irishman who captured five men by surrounding them all at one time.

Burnside was a little doubtful which had the numbers at Fredericksburg, and he states frankly: "It was found to be impossible to get the men up to the works. The enemy's fire was too hot for them." His force across the river at the battle was 100,000; ours was very considerably smaller.

Joe Hooker—"Fighting Joe," as he was called—for a wonder, did not claim that we had the odds against him when he crossed the Rappahannock to Chancellorsville, and issued an order to his troops, stating that he had the "rebel army" just where he wanted it, and would proceed to crush it—and then went back, under compulsion, and said, with a great flourish of trumpets, that the Army of the Potomac was the custodian of its own honor; that it advanced when it pleased, fought when it pleased, and retired when it pleased. Fighting Joe, however, said something quite as amusing as the old story about superior numbers, which I will give you. In his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he said:

"Our artillery had always been superior to that of the rebels, as was also our infantry, except in discipline, and that, for reasons not necessary to mention, never did equal Lee's army. With a rank and file vastly inferior to our own, intellectually and physically, that army has, by discipline alone, acquired a character for steadiness and efficiency unsurpassed, in my judgment, in ancient or modern times. We have not been able to rival it, nor has there been any approximation to it in the other rebel armies."

Hooker is manifestly of opinion that the successes of Lee's army were due to its superior discipline, notwithstanding its inferiority in numbers, and its vast inferiority, *intellectually and physically*, to his own. He gives another opinion which is not a little amusing, and may throw some light on the subject. In the same testimony, he says:

"Some of our corps commanders, and also officers of other

rank, appear to be unwilling to go into a fight; in my judgment, there are not many who really like to fight."

This was said of the army which was the custodian of its own honor. It did not seem to occur to Hooker that, perhaps, there might be something in the oft quoted maxim of the great dramatic poet, who has said:

"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just;  
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,  
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted,"

to explain the difference in the conduct of the two armies.

At Gettysburg, Meade, with an army of 100,000 at least, was outnumbered by ours, less than 60,000 strong; and he was very much relieved when General Lee, after a drawn battle, determined to retire, because his ammunition was drawing short.

When Grant took command of all the armies, he determined to get rid of the bugbear of superior numbers, and to have the odds on his side, so that he might destroy us by the mere attrition of numbers, if nothing else. It was a very costly experiment to him in that wonderful campaign, from the Rapidan to the James, where the military genius of General Lee, and the fighting capacity and endurance of his army, were so conspicuously displayed—a campaign which, in my opinion, stands unsurpassed in the annals of warfare, for the marvellous exhibition of all the elements of the most exalted military genius, on the part of our commander, and the sublime courage and steadiness of his little army, which was less than a third as strong as the opposing force—but the history of that campaign has never been written. With an army of very near 200,000 men, with the reinforcements that were brought up, all of Grant's plans were thwarted and defeated by an army of less than 50,000 men, in a contest continuing for nearly forty days, and extending over a distance of eighty miles; and he was finally, after a loss in battle of considerably more men than General Lee had in all, compelled to take refuge on James River, at a point to which he could have gone without the loss of a man. He was then compelled to invoke to his aid, as an ally of his process of attrition, lingering starvation. These two agencies slowly but surely did their work; and when at the head of more than 150,000 men, superbly equipped and bountifully fed, he received the surrender of less than 8,000 worn and emaciated Confederate soldiers, with arms in their hands; and, including

the teamsters, extra-duty-men, wounded and sick, camp-followers and stragglers, who afterwards came in, 27,805 men in all, we can well imagine the feelings with which he and his principal officers looked each other in the face, and asked, as well they might: "Is this the army which has so long baffled all our mighty efforts."

It was but the ghost of the Army of Northern Virginia which they conquered! What a scene was that, at that hitherto quiet and unknown village, in the interior of Virginia! On the one hand, stands the very unprepossessing form of Ulysses S. Grant, the mere creature of accident, but the successful commander now, at the head of a mighty host, in all the "pride, pomp and circumstance of war,"—I will not say glorious war—waiting to receive the surrender of his great antagonist. On the other hand, approaches the stately and majestic form of Robert E. Lee:

"Where every god did seem to set his seal,  
To give the world assurance of a man."

Following him come the gaunt forms of less than 8,000 men in tattered gray, to lay down the arms they had won in battle, and which they had borne so long with honor. As they stack those arms, they cast their eyes upon their beloved commander, whose heart is breaking with a grief unutterable, and they burst into uncontrollable tears—those men whose bold hearts had never quailed amid the deadly strife of the battle-field, whatever odds were opposed to them. They are not now conquered in battle, but they lay down their arms, because they scarce have strength to carry them, and because they are weary and foot sore, and cannot longer march. Oh! it was a most piteous, moving sight—enough to make the angels weep. Where was the glory of that victory? Had the leader of that immense host had the feelings of magnanimity which ought to animate all true soldiers, he would have marched his army to Washington, and demanded that full, complete and perfect peace, amnesty and protection, be granted to the men who had given such unmistakable evidence of devotion to truth, honor and right.

No man could look upon that scene at Appomattox Courthouse, and for a moment, in his heart, believe that the followers of Robt. E. Lee were traitors or rebels. But, my comrades, the "victor" on that occasion had not the remotest conception of the true meaning of the word "magnanimity," much less of the sentiment. Talk of Grant's magnanimity on that



occasion, in conceding the terms that he did to General Lee's demands! I scout the idea. General Lee went to that interview with the firm resolve to cut his way out with the small remnant left, if terms were not granted him deemed honorable in war. Grant saw the blue mountains not far off—he had sad experience of what that little army was capable—he was afraid General Lee might make his way into those mountains, and then he would lose the supreme glory of terminating the war by the surrender to him of his great antagonist, and he granted the terms, without which he could not have procured that surrender. Call you this magnanimity? But it is said he prevented General Lee from being prosecuted for treason. He had, then, fortunately for him, a mentor who forced the idea into his dull brain, that his own honor and glory were in some way connected with that matter, in maintaining inviolate the parole granted General Lee and his soldiers, and he acted in accordance with the suggestions made to him. That mentor has since gone, and what has been his course, as the head of a powerful government, towards General Lee and his followers? Compared to what has been done to our people, it would have been mercy to have hung all our leaders, civil and military, and then granted peace and amnesty to the masses. Jeffreys himself could not have devised more exquisite torture and cruelty than has been inflicted on all our people.

From that field at Appomattox, where the vast superiority of the Southern man and soldier over the Northern was made so manifest to the dullest comprehension, there went up a vow to degrade and humiliate into the very dust the race which had proved itself so far above its conquerors in all the elements of genuine manhood. Death could not do it, for the slaughter of heroes could but make their virtues shine the brighter. Is it necessary for me to specify the hellish devices which have been adopted to carry out the firm resolve to break and lower the spirit of our people, or show how they are now in constant operation? Let the state of things in your own State, down-trodden under the feet of your former slaves, and of their far worse coadjutors, the carpet baggers and native renegades, with martial law in existence in many quarters, tell the tale!

That great philosophic historian, Gibbon, tells us, in speaking of the heathen Emperor of Rome, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, that "he was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfections of others, just and beneficent to all mankind.

He regretted that Avidius Cassius, who excited a rebellion in Syria, had disappointed him, by a voluntary death, of the pleasure of converting an enemy into a friend; and he justified the sincerity of that sentiment by moderating the zeal of the Senate against the adherents of the traitor."

Compare the sentiments and conduct of that heathen ruler, of a heathen people, with those of the head of this *free, enlightened, Christian republic*, and his Senate and followers, and what must be the judgment?

As, at Appomattox, the vast inferiority of Grant to Gen. Lee, as a military commander, was made most manifest, so, at the head of a powerful nation, his utter deficiency in all the elements of that true grandeur of soul, so conspicuously displayed in retirement by his great antagonist, has been most signally demonstrated—the career of the two, respectively, thus furnishing another illustration of the fact, that

"Pigmies are pigmies still, though perch'd on Alps,  
Pyramids are pyramids in vales."

We are sometimes told that we must turn our backs upon the past, forget all our cherished traditions, ideas and principles, and fall in with the progressive spirit of the age, singing pæans to a regenerated and re-invigorated Union—that we submitted our cause to the arbitrament of arms, and the decision was against us—and that the highest law which can exist is that established by force of arms.

That the red-handed conqueror, with his foot upon the necks of his victims, or the armed robber on the highway should assert such monstrous doctrine as this, is not to be wondered at; but when it comes from the man, who, while struggling for the right, has been compelled to yield to the force of arms in an unequal contest, the mantle—I had almost said of charity, but will say—of oblivion should be allowed to fall over the weakness that cannot resist the temptations of adversity.

I fear there are too many prone to adopt the maxims of a prudence, which, as Burke says, when carried too far, degenerates into a "reptile virtue."

My comrades, much loose language has been used, by friend as well as foe, upon the subject of submitting our rights to the arbitrament of arms; but, in no sense can the Southern States be said to have submitted their right to withdraw from the Union to any such arbitrament. They exercised that right which was theirs, and tendered a peaceable settlement of

all the questions growing out of their withdrawal. A war of invasion and coercion was most unjustly and ruthlessly waged against them, and they resorted to arms to defend their rights, their country, their homes, their all against the sword, robbery and fire, combined, all of which were employed by the spoiler. The result of the war settled no question of right, but merely furnished another instance of the fact, that in this world, truth and justice do not always prevail, and that might is often more powerful than right.

When the captive Jews sat down by the rivers of Babylon and wept for the desolation of their land, their spoilers required of them mirth and a song, but they hung their harps upon the willows; and the Psalmist has put into their mouths these words:

"How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

"If I forget thee, O, Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

"If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

Can we be less faithful than they?

No! we can never turn our backs upon the past, unless we turn them upon the graves and memories of Lee, Sidney Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, Gregg and all our brave comrades who fell upon the field of honor and glory. We can never forget, until we consent to mingle and amalgamate our race and blood with that of our former slaves in a universal miscegenation, so as utterly to degrade ourselves to the level to which our foes are seeking to reduce us.

We must and will preserve, green and fresh, the memories of our dead heroes, while the noble and true women of the South will continue, from year to year, to strew flowers on their graves, and teach their fair daughters to perpetuate the pious custom; and we will adhere to the principles for which Lee, Sydney Johnston and Jackson fought and died. To show to all ages that we were not unworthy to be the soldiers of our great leaders, let us rear a monument, or monuments, to them, which shall tower towards the Heavens, and testify for all time, that the men that were true to them in life, did not abandon them in death. Such monuments are not necessary to perpetuate their fame, for that is as wide as the bounds of civilization, and will be as enduring as the mountains, and hills, and plains, and valleys, and rivers of their own well beloved South. It is to ourselves, that we owe the duty of furnishing an enduring witness of our fidelity to our cause and the memory of our great leaders.

My comrades, might and wrong cannot always prevail—a just and righteous God rules above and over all; and however gloomy and dark everything may now appear around us, I have a firm and abiding faith that the time is coming when it will be a higher and more honorable title for a man to be able to say: “My ancestor wore the gray, and fought in the same great struggle for right, to which Robert E. Lee, Sydney Johnston and Stonewall Jackson devoted themselves,” than to be able to claim descent from one who fought at Roncevalles, or came over with William the Conqueror.

Let us then foster and extend our fraternal associations and perpetuate them; and let every Confederate soldier jealously guard his reputation and honor as such, so as to transmit the rich heritage to his posterity unimpaired, taking to himself as a guide, in its full and highest import, the advice of Polonius to his son:

“——— to thine ownself be true;  
And it must follow, as night the day;  
Thou canst not be false to any man.”









